

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 PM-04 INR-07 L-03 ACDA-07

NSAE-00 PA-01 SS-15 PRS-01 SP-02 TRSE-00 SAJ-01 NSC-05

USIE-00 INRE-00 NSCE-00 SSO-00 EURE-00 /059 W

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O R 032123Z DEC 76

FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3865

INFO USMISSION USBERLIN

AMEMBASSY BERLIN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PARIS

USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 BONN 20483

FOR EUR/CE

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR PGOV NATO WB GW US UK FR

SUBJECT: DECEMBER 1976 QUADRIpartite MEETING: BONN
GROUP STUDY ON REPRESENTATION

REF: BONN 20371

BEGIN SUMMARY. THE UK BONN GROUP REP HAS SO FAR
RECEIVED LONDON'S SUGGESTIONS FOR AMENDMENTS ONLY TO
THE FIRST (ANALYTICAL) PART -OF THE REPRESENTATION
STUDY. FEW OF THE CHANGES AFFECT SUBSTANCE, AND UK
REP DID NOT PRESS FOR THEIR ACCEPTANCE. SUGGESTED
CHANGES TO THE REMAINING PORTION OF THE PAPER
ARE PROMISED FOR MONDAY. END SUMMARY.

1. LONDON'S DETAILED COMMENTS ON THE BONN GROUP STUDY
ON PROBLEMS IN FRG REPRESENTATION OF BERLIN'S
INTERESTS ABROAD (REFTEL, PARA 3) ARE IN TWO
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INSTALLMENTS. THE UK REP (HITCH) DISTRIBUTED AT THE

DECEMBER 3 BONN GROUP MEETING A RETYPED VERSION OF PARAGRAPHS 1-12 OF THE STUDY WITH BRACKETS AND UNDERLINING TO INDICATE SOME 30 SUGGESTED CHANGES. HE REPORTED THAT AMENDMENTS TO THE REMAINDER OF THE STUDY -- THE SECTIONS ON "SCOPE OF MANEUVER" AND "OPTIONS" -- HAD BEEN PROMISED BY MONDAY MORNING (DECEMBER 6) AND WOULD BE DISTRIBUTED AT THE MONDAY AFTERNOON BONN GROUP MEETING.

2. HITCH SAID HIS INSTRUCTIONS WERE TO TABLE THE SUGGESTED CHANGES, TO REPORT ANY REACTION TO THEM, BUT NOT TO REQUEST AMENDMENT OF THE PAPER. THE FRENCH REP (BOISSIEU) EXPRESSED RELIEF, STATING THAT IF LONDON PRESSED FOR AMENDMENTS HE WOULD BE OBLIGED TO CIRCULATE A NEW DRAFT WITH THE 24 AMENDMENTS DESIRED BY PARIS. BOISSIEU ALSO POINTED OUT THAT SECTIONS I AND II OF THE PAPER WERE BASICALLY ANALYTICAL BACKGROUND AND THAT THE IMPORTANT PART OF THE STUDY WAS SECTION III. HE THEREFORE THOUGHT THE BONN GROUP SHOULD RECOMMEND THAT SENIOR OFFICIALS LOOK UPON THE OPENING SECTIONS STRICTLY AS A BONN GROUP WORKING PAPER, AS THE US HAD SUGGESTED, AND DEVOTE THEIR DISCUSSION ON DECEMBER 8 TO THE OPTIONS.

3. THE US REP EXPRESSED APPRECIATION FOR THE WAY IN WHICH HITCH HAD PRESENTED THE AMENDMENTS AND NOTED THAT MOST OF THEM REPRESENTED IMPROVEMENTS IN THE BONN GROUP TEXT WHICH WOULD BE ACCEPTABLE IF TIME PERMITTED REDRAFTING. HE ALSO AGREED WITH BOISSIEU THAT THE PRECISE WORDING OF THE ANALYTICAL PART OF THE STUDY WAS OF LESSER IMPORTANCE AND THAT IT WOULD BE DESIRABLE FOR DISCUSSION AT THE SENIOR LEVEL MEETING TO BE FOCUSED ON WHAT ACTION, IF ANY, SHOULD BE TAKEN.

4. HENZE (FRG) THOUGHT THAT SOME OF LONDON'S AMENDMENTS REPRESENTED IMPROVED WAYS OF EXPRESSING THE IDEAS THE BONN GROUP HAD TRIED TO EXPRESS AND WOULD BE ACCEPTABLE. OTHERS, HE THOUGHT, WERE NOT ACCURATE, WHILE A THIRD CATEGORY SOUGHT BY QUALIFYING THE LANGUAGE IN THE BONN GROUP DRAFT TO BELITTLE THE CONFIDENTIAL

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PROBLEMS. HENZE AGREED, HOWEVER, THAT WE SHOULD NOT AT THIS STAGE TRY TO REWRITE THE PAPER, AS HE WOULD ALSO WANT CERTAIN AMENDMENTS. HE THEREFORE REFRAINED FROM DETAILED COMMENTS ON THE BRITISH PROPOSALS.

5. HENZE ADDED THAT THE FEELING IN THE FOREIGN MINISTRY AND THE CHANCELLERY WAS THAT THE BONN GROUP HAD DONE A GOOD JOB ON THE STUDY.

6. COMMENT: MANY OF THE BRITISH PROPOSALS ARE STRICTLY EDITORIAL IN NATURE (E.G., CHANGING "ENSURE" TO "SAFEGUARD" IN PARA 2) AND IN THE AGGREGATE WOULD IMPROVE THE LINGUISTIC QUALITY OF THE STUDY. OTHERS, AS HENZE COMMENTED, TEND TO SOFTEN SOME OF THE

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 BONN 20483

JUDGMENTS EXPRESSED IN THE PAPER (E.G. IN PARA 7 LONDON SUGGESTED ADDING TO THE SENTENCE ON THE SOVIET GOAL OF TRANSFORMING BERLIN INTO AN INDEPENDENT ENTITY THE WORDS "WHENEVER AND IF EVER THIS PROVES POSSIBLE").

7. THE ONLY ALTERATION OF REAL SUBSTANCE IS IN PARA 12 (THE WESTERN STRATEGY), AND LONDON'S SUGGESTED NEW VERSION OF THAT PARAGRAPH FOLLOWS:

"12. THE POLICY OF THE FRG AND OF THE THREE ALLIES IS AIMED AT THE PRESERVATION OF THE VIABILITY OF THE WSB. THIS VIABILITY, INsofar AS THE THREE WESTERN ALLIES ARE CONCERNED, RESTS ON THE MAINTENANCE OF THEIR RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES, WHICH WERE "NOT AFFECTED" BY THE QA. THE QA WAS NEVERTHELESS A GAIN FOR BERLIN IN THAT BOTH SIDES, WITHOUT PREJUDICE TO THEIR RESPECTIVE

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LEGAL POSITIONS, AGREED ON PRACTICAL IMPROVEMENTS, WHICH AMOUNTED TO THE BEST COMPROMISE BETWEEN EAST AND WEST ATTAINABLE UNDER THE CONDITIONS THEN PREVAILING. IT IS NOT POSSIBLE TO EXPECT THE SOVIET UNION TO ACCEPT MORE THAN HAS BEEN AGREED IN THE QA. AT THE SAME TIME, IT IS NECESSARY TO AVOID AN EROSION OF THE WESTERN POSITION EITHER THROUGH THE UNDERMINING OF THE RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE THREE WESTERN ALLIES OR THROUGH THE ARGUMENT THAT THE TIES BETWEEN THE FRG AND THE WSB DEPEND ON AN INTERPRETATION OF THE QA RATHER THAN ON THE ESTABLISHED PRACTICES OF THE ALLIES IN THE EXERCISE OF THEIR RIGHTS. TO ACHIEVE THIS, THE SOVIET UNION MUST BE REQUIRED TO APPLY THE QA FULLY. THE WESTERN APPROACH IS THUS EPITOMIZED IN THE FORMULATION BY WHICH THE SOVIETS THEMSELVES PROFESS TO BE GUIDED: STRICT OBSERVANCE AND FULL IMPLEMENTATION."

8. IT SEEMS UNLIKELY THAT HIBBERT WILL PRESS FOR ACCEPTANCE OF HIS CHANGES AT THE SENIOR LEVEL MEETING, AND WE WILL THEREFORE NOT CABLE ALL OF THE CHANGES TO THE DEPARTMENT UNLESS REQUESTED TO DO SO.

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